BASIC ISSUES OF THE WAR AND PEACE

UNDER GOD A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM IN THIS WORLD

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War & peace

By

EDITH CLYSDALE MAGRUDER

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For Student Leaders

BUILDING FOR FREEDOM TODAY AND TOMORROW SERIES

NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCIL, Y.W.C.A.

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FOREWORD

AMERICA has been known traditionally as a land of opportunity. In a wider and deeper sense this is more true today than ever before. What has been written in a remarkable statement by Charles A. Beard about the American Revolution may well be said for the day in which we live. "It was in truth an economic, social and intellectual transformation of prime significance — the first of those modern world-shaking reconstructions in which mankind has sought to cut and fashion the tough and stubborn web of fact to fit the pattern of its dreams."[1] This pamphlet will have fulfilled its purpose if it serves in any way to call forth the resources which are needed in this hour to effect the reconstruction of our world.

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PREFACE

It has been suggested that a brief statement at the beginning of this pamphlet indicating the way in which this material might be utilized would prove useful to those who are interested in seeking a fuller understanding of the underlying causes of strife and tension and war in the modern world.

With the exception, of course, of particular cases, it would seem advisable for the most part that this material be used for intensive study among staff and student leaders and as the basis of study courses and of conference planning under the mature guidance of men and women who understand what is involved in its broadest perspective. It has obviously been impossible to go into detail in a pamphlet of this length when such a broad sweep of material was being covered. Questions involving history, religion, economics and politics have been telescoped to the briefest possible proportions. If this material can become a point of departure for the most far-reaching kind of discussion among groups of people who believe that a way out of the present chaos can be found and are determined to find it, it will have fulfilled its purpose. It is recommended that John C. Bennett's book, "Christianity — and Our World" from the Hazen series, which has been widely read in the Student Christian Movement, be used in close conjunction for discussion purposes; the material which will be found in this book on the Christian faith, on capitalism and on Fascist dictatorship will provide an excellent background for a study of the issues involved in this pamphlet.

The fact that this pamphlet has been written at this particular time in an effort to bring to a focus the various elements in our civilization and culture should be seen as one aspect of the total program which is encompassed by the Student Christian Associations. At the National Assembly of Student Christian Associations held from December 27, 1941 to January 3, 1942 at Miami

University, Oxford, Ohio, the plenary session of the Assembly went on record as adopting the following report:

> The present chaos has made more real to us the urgency of proclaiming the Christian message and of assuming our individual and corporate responsibility in working for the type of world which expresses God's purposes. As members of the Student Christian Associations, united in the desire to understand more deeply the meaning of the Christian faith and to make that faith a living reality in social as well as individual life, we direct our united effort toward working for a more just social order in which all people shall have the economic opportunity to be brothers. In this world we believe there will be security of employment with opportunity for every person to follow some constructive vocation; there will be racial equality, political freedom, freedom to worship. The means of production will be for the use of all men. The God-given resources of the earth will be used for the progressive raising of the standard of living of all people.

In October of this year, 1942, a brief pamphlet by Miss Fern Babcock and the present writer, announcing the Wartime Expansion Program of the National Student Council and explaining the various phases of the program, was issued. This included the following areas for emphasis: 1. Discovering a Faith Adequate for the Future, 2. Understanding the Issues of the War and Peace, 3. Achieving Stability in Personal Relationships, 4. Choosing Vocations Strategic for Enduring Freedom, 5. Assuming Civic and Community Responsibility, 6. Meeting the Needs of Those Whose Lives are Disrupted by the War. The present pamphlet has been written in response to the critical factors involved in the second area, Understanding the Issues of the War and Peace. It has also been written in the light of the religious perspective which was expressed at that time in the first section:

> We are aware of the way in which the Spirit of God has worked in the lives of men and women in other periods of crisis, changing the course of history. In periods of history characterized by great social change, even by dissolution and decay, the seeds of a new order have made their appearance within the framework of the old, and have brought new life and vitality to outworn social institutions and patterns. These are again the hours of human destiny. It is in times such as these, when man has experienced the depths of human tragedy, that once again he glimpses and becomes intensely alive to the heights which are also his to attain. It is then that man becomes the conscious

instrument of God in history. The outcome can only be disaster if we do not discover the will of God for His people in this period, if we do not become aware of the avenues which will lead to the level of high creative living of which man is capable. At the same time there is urgent need that we as Christians should learn to recognize the ignorance, the evil intentions, and the evil deeds of men which thwart the creative expression of personality, and that we should marshal all our resources of mind and spirit for the struggle against evil, which, if its power is not stayed, will degrade the people for years to come. With this awareness, this understanding and this faith, there is no need for us to fear the future, for we will know that, so long as we are co-workers with the power that brings to fruition the highest creative potential in man, it becomes possible for us to make the future. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

I also wish at this time to express my appreciation to my consultants, Dr. F. Ernest Johnson, Miss Rose Terlin, Dr. Paul Tillich and Miss Winnifred Wygal, and to my editorial committee, Mrs. Mary Moss Cuthbertson, Mrs. James C. Forsyth and Miss Eleanor French for their suggestions with regard to the manuscript itself and also with regard to the use of the manuscript when published. Although there have been points at which they have not fully agreed with me — nor with each other — the whole process has been one of real significance in the effort to arrive at a clearer understanding of the relation of the past to the present and the future, and of the kind of structure necessary for the realization of a society in which personality and community shall occupy the place of central importance.

My only hope is that the same understanding and consideration will characterize the discussions which are carried on among students and leaders throughout the Movement and that mutual learning and a constructive synthesis will take place as these ideas are examined from every standpoint. The sweep of an idea should never be allowed to blind one to the persons with whom one associates, for in the light of a full understanding and appreciation of another's point of view one will usually stand in deep humility. There are tremendous social forces at work in the world today swaying whatever group of people comes within their reach — the business man who works within the duress of a competitive economic system, the boy who is unemployed and who robs a man

of his money, the girl who lives in a trailer camp and becomes one of the "first casualties of the war," the German who finds himself entangled within the Nazi system. One must seek to understand both the social forces which sweep across the scene and the person who lives, who laughs and who suffers in their midst, the person who can change the course of these social forces when once he becomes conscious that they are within his control if he will but use them as they have been intended.

This pamphlet has been written under pressure of a limited time schedule. It has been an attempt to bring together within the space of a few pages the social trends of the present era. It will perhaps seem at various points to be less discriminating and clear than it ought to be. My only hope is that it will provide a point of departure for a mutual give-and-take and clarification of ideas—but with our underlying purpose constantly in mind, that we are not merely playing with ideas for the sake of bandying them about, but that we are earnest in our search for the key to the future and have set our hearts and minds on its discovery.

E. C. M.

BASIC ISSUES OF THE WAR AND PEACE

I.

THE GREAT TRANSITION
— FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE FUTURE —

The critical nature of the present hour has been cogently expressed by Vice-President Wallace when he said, "This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other."[2] This same note was struck by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his statement that this is a war between freedom and tyranny. "If the Nazis win there will be no freedom left in Europe for many a year to come — no freedom of conscience, for the young people will be trained to believe that the Leader is always right; no freedom of speech, for criticism of the Leader and his subordinates is forbidden; no freedom of thought, for if men may not express their thoughts their minds will atrophy; no freedom of spirit, for allegiance to the State will be inculcated as the only way of serving God."[3]

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PAST AND FUTURE

A review of Nazi plans for the political and economic coordination of Europe, with the concomitant subjection of all states and national groupings to the one "master race" is proof enough of the peril in which the freedom we have taken for granted stands. But one cannot grasp the meaning of this present struggle without seeing it in the context of the past and the future, as one point in the far greater upheaval which has been in process for several hundreds of years. It is only as we begin to comprehend the gigantic leaps which man has taken since the Middle Ages that we will begin to understand the turmoil and confusion, tragedy and waste of the present period.

We are living in the period of transition between the ordered way of life of the Middle Ages which had its basis in the closed universe of the thought patterns of the day, and the ordered way of life of the future which will have its orientation in the open universe of dynamic, pulsating energy expressing itself in a myriad of different ways.

THE MIDDLE AGES

In order to appreciate the quality of life of European history from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries we must recall that Columbus had not as yet discovered America, Luther had not revolted against the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, Copernicus had not as yet discovered that the earth was not the centre of the universe, the printing press had not as yet been invented. It was a limited universe in which man lived, a universe confined to the planets and the fixed stars of the heavens. The world was regarded as furnishing the stage for the great drama of man's life and his ultimate salvation. The world had been created for him; the earth was the centre of the universe; and man was the central object in this divine scheme of things.

The economic life of the Middle Ages was characterized mainly by the growth of towns, often situated near the castle of a feudal lord for the sake of protection but fiercely antagonistic to any attempts of the feudal suzerain and his armed retainers to interfere in the government. The inhabitants of these towns came from the servile class in the feudal structure and included traders and artisans, and later manufacturers and bankers as town life grew in complexity. These people were called burghers or middle class — whence the name bourgeoisie arose.

In the economic and commercial realm the Church exercised the right to set forth the principles and control the methods which were to be used. It is important to take note of the regulations which were imposed by the Church for the governing of the trading transactions of these medieval merchants, for these were in sharp contrast to the principles of acquisitive capitalism which were developing at this very time and which came to be the accepted economic philosophy. Although recent research has proved that there was considerable divergence between theory

and practice, the over-reaching principles which were a guide to the commercial life of the period were these — the limitation of profit to the value of the labor involved, and the prohibition of both the exercise of monopoly and the acceptance of interest on money.

In brief, the Middle Ages provided a unified framework within which man could live his life. The Christian Church gave the accepted standard of values; men were recognized as children of God although they differed in their levels of spiritual attainment; an ethical mode existed, the validity of which the people recognized, even though they fell far short of its requirements. This is what constituted the medieval synthesis.

THE APPEARANCE OF NEW LIFE

The rise of the towns, however, contained the seeds which were to break asunder the bounds of the medieval system. Here was the manifestation of new dynamic force, a force which was to result in revolutionary change in every phase of medieval life. The Renaissance and the Reformation represented the bursting forth of this new impulse as it appeared in philosophy, science, religion and art. The life and thought of men such as Nicolas Cusanus, Luther, Leonardo da Vinci, Copernicus and Columbus were an indication of the fact that again man was breaking the moulds of static tradition, that again he was seeking to feel the sun-light upon his own face. This new force also made its impact in the economic life of the period and in the growth of nationalism and the nation-state. As someone has said, "The lid was being taken off the universe." In all spheres of life man was pushing to feel his strength. In some areas this energy was channelled in the direction of the highest constructive creative thought and action. In others it was used for the elevation of the individual at the expense of all who stood in his way.

The development of the machine and the birth of modern machine-technology around 1750 arose out of this new life and vitality which was spreading in so many different directions. The period of the modern machine had been in preparation from as far back as the 1300's, but these machines were crude and inefficient as compared with the engines which made movement

mechanical or which propelled themselves forward under their own power. Here again was an instrument of tremendous potentiality, an instrument to be used — but, for what ends? The welfare of the people or the private accumulation of money? The recognition of social obligation as in the Middle Ages or the acceptance of the profit motive as primary in business, regardless of consequences to the people involved? A new power was there. It already existed. It was to be used. A new world was being born with limitless possibilities for the future. But how was this power to be utilized? Into what channels was it to be guided?

THE MISDIRECTED CHANNELLING OF THIS NEW ENERGY

We know what constituted the immediate answer of the period — all that can be included under the word Capitalism, with both its good and its evil concomitants. Capitalism and Individualism. Man for the first time feeling his strength, sensing freedom ahead, breaking the bonds, both good and bad, which held him to an agrarian mode of life in which he no longer believed, seeking this freedom with its potentialities for a higher level of spiritual life — and then — losing himself in the maze of material advantages which the work of his mind and hands had brought him. How greatly man has abused this new freedom which he won, and how far he has wandered from the way of life which he is capable of living and which is within his grasp can readily be seen in the poverty-stricken areas of wealthy countries — scarcity in the midst of abundance, and in the cataclysm of global war. Man has tasted of freedom, but it has been the freedom of self-interest, and freedom which is without social purpose in line with the will of God for His people cannot but end in destruction.

THE NECESSITY OF RECHANNELLING CREATIVE ENDEAVOR FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE NEW SOCIETY

But, increasingly, men are turning to the search for a way of social living which will once again put human values in the place of central importance. They are seeking to find a structure of society which will give the potentialities of each person, whatever his walk of life, the fullest chance of self-realization, a self-realization which will end, not in the frustration of self-centredness, but in the outgoing, abundant kind of living of which Jesus spoke, a self-realization which will come through

the welfare of all. Material benefits, no longer sought as ends in themselves, will assume their proper place as mere tools to be used for one purpose and one purpose only — the deepening and enrichment of man's inner life as he learns to live with his fellow-man in the light of a common purpose.

This world, for which men are seeking, will still be a world with unlimited possibilities for scientific invention and technical development, but man will have learned how to channel the results of his creative effort for the good of all mankind. He will possess a new framework in the light of which he can control and guide the works of his hands. In essence, it again will be a framework which recognizes that Good does reside at the heart of the universe and that, in accordance with this, man in his dealings with man must act with justice and mercy.

This is the transition period. Man's mind has made a gigantic leap with the advent of the Machine Age. In breadth and speed there is nothing to compare with it in the history of man since the first civilization made its appearance in the valley of the Euphrates. Man's mind has encircled the earth. The world is being pressed together. The framework of ideas and values which served the Middle Ages has proved inadequate for this new age. The new wine has burst the old wine skins. A new power has come into being, a power which has not as yet been harnessed, a power, which in certain of its aspects, has run berserk — whether it be in the form of imperialism, of financial monopoly or of the master race. But the forces for good are at this very time struggling to bring this new power in all its various unrestrained manifestations under control, to channel it in the direction which will make for the happiness and welfare of all the people the world over.

The new society is coming. Already one can see its structure in broad outline. And having seen its structure nothing will stop the people until it is realized. Whether the time for this realization is now at hand or whether many a century of struggle and conflict is still in store depends on those of us who are living at this time, on our understanding and vision of the future, and on our strength of purpose to carry through.

II.

THE PRESENT PERIOD
— REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION —

We turn now to a more detailed analysis of this great transitional period consisting of roughly five centuries since the Middle Ages in order to examine more closely the forces which have been at work and the trends which can be observed. This is a period which might be called the Era of the Middle Class. It is this group of people which grew in influence and power along with the growth and development of capitalist enterprise.

THE SOCIAL ADVANCES RESULTING FROM CAPITALISM

Capitalism brought with it certain benefits which need to be given full recognition. Of far-reaching importance was the fact that the new drive which appeared in the form of trade and commerce within the medieval towns and between them and eventually resulted in the formation of the great financial houses of the Middle Ages sounded the death-knell of feudalism. Through the new economic developments of the period the people who had previously been forced to live their lives under the domination and according to the whims of a feudal overseer began to sense that an opportunity was being presented to break the ties which had bound them and to live their own lives in their own right as they chose. This represented a tremendous social advance, the achievement of which was the direct result of the economic developments of the period.

It was also within this environment that democracy was given a chance to expand and grow. A democratic form of government was not possible within the hierarchical social structure of the Middle Ages, but with the continued gain of individual freedom by those groups of people who were struggling to build and maintain an independent existence democracy became the only acceptable political framework. It was essential to the development of free enterprise under individual initiative, and the great social upheavals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are witness

to the importance which was attached to political democracy. The need for special attention to the problem of economic democracy had not as yet made itself apparent.

The production of many former luxury articles in quantities sufficient to raise the standard of living of great numbers of people is another social advance which followed in the train of capitalist enterprise. The development of laissez-faire economics particularly in the eighteenth century released the energies of those who were fortunate enough to be producers to increase their own wealth and, in the bargain, resulted in the production of many new salable articles which made life increasingly less difficult for those who had the money to buy.

An increasing knowledge of the life and customs of other parts of the world was another by-product of an expanding free enterprise system. Mercantilism in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries took men into the far corners of the world and prepared the way for the growing conception of world unity and the need for world brotherhood.

From the vantage point of the present it is not difficult to observe the points at which these new economic institutions brought results which were not wholly salutary. We cannot doubt, however, the determined and sincere belief of many of the people of this period that in their struggle to win their own freedom by their own efforts they were acting for the good of all people. This was expressed in the philosophy of an economist such as Adam Smith and of a philosopher such as Leibnitz through the principle of pre-established Harmony. The interior world and the exterior world were believed to be in harmony and if an individual acted for his own self-interest it was inevitable that at the same time he would act in the interests of all other people in the social group. This optimistic view of the operation of automatic Harmony between the interests of the individual and the interests of the group lasted so long as historical circumstances and economic opportunity, following in the wake of an expanding capitalism, furnished the necessary conditions. But when capitalism entered the restrictive stage it was obvious that other

factors had to be taken into consideration. The old Law of Harmony broke down completely for in these new circumstances it became evident that the interests of the individual in his own behalf did not always coincide with the interests of other individuals and that conflict between groups occurred with alarming frequency.

THE SOCIAL COSTS OF CAPITALISM

An examination of the social costs and the evils which were also attendant on the capitalist system provides the reason for the break-down of this so-called Law of Harmony. The necessity of making a profit in order to maintain a business resulted oftentimes in the degradation of the workers for the sake of the money which was necessarily involved. The small business man was caught in the meshes of the system. Whatever the consequences to his employees he had to make ends meet. The development of imperialism and the exploitation of backward countries for the sake of the wealth accruing from the trade followed upon the first step of individual private initiative in local affairs and was its logical consequence. The necessity of maintaining a favorable trade balance became of paramount importance in a nation's economic life — without any weighing of the fact that a favorable trade balance for one nation meant an unfavorable trade balance for another. But the system demanded that profits must be realized and the middle class business men followed the demands of the system.

In the modern period the capitalist system has entered another stage — pushing farther along on the road which contained the elements of conflict and disunity from the beginning. This is the stage of monopolistic controls which has taken the form of mergers, pools, trusts, domestic and international cartels, and the manipulation of financial instruments. These have resulted in the stifling of competition, the control of markets and prices, the contracting of production, the fights against interference by any group representing the desires of the consuming public. In short, they represent the tightening of the reins of power in the hands of a few industrialists who stand at the top of the pyramid, men who are motivated by the desire to wield their power rather than to contribute to "the greatest happiness of the greatest

number". The expanding capitalism of the last century has given way to the maturing and restrictive capitalism of the present century. Safe investments in reliable bond issues, especially government securities, have been taking the place of private investments involving substantial risk and high return. The opportunity for the development of individual initiative for the most part exists within the confines of the large business enterprise. The grocer in the little corner grocery-store oftentimes finds that he cannot compete with the prices of the large chain store nearby; he either goes out of business or perchance may be asked to become the manager for another chain branch which will buy him out. In this regard Robert Lynd of Columbia University writes, "Liberal democracy has never dared face the fact that industrial capitalism is an actively coercive form of organization of society that cumulatively constrains men and all their institutions to work the will of the minority who hold and wield economic power; and that this relentless warping of men's lives and forms of associations become less and less the result of voluntary decisions by 'bad' or 'good' men and more and more an impersonal web of coercions dictated by the need to keep 'the system' running."[4]

The fact, however, that the economic trend has been in the direction of centralization must be taken into account in any analysis of the problem. Although there will probably remain a substantial sector of free enterprise, laissez-faire economics, as a total economic policy, in a world which has entered the last stage of capitalism is no longer possible, for the benefits of mass production and planned distribution have been recognized as essential if the consumer rather than the producer is to be the person served. The question no longer is one of a choice between state control and free enterprise. The choice today is between an economy planned by big business or an economy planned by the people through the government which represents them.

Pressing farther along in the trend toward centralization we come to the state-controlled economy which the Nazis have set up. What has happened in Germany can by no means be fully explained by an analysis of the economic system for there are many psychological factors which must be taken into account

which we shall later attempt in this pamphlet. In its main outlines, however, both with regard to German domestic policy and the European "New Order", the structure of corporate state capitalism can be seen. No private economic rights are recognized if they conflict with national policy. Lewis Lorwin of the National Resources Planning Board writes that, although big business is not the only support of the Nazi Party "The Nazi social-economic system seems more explicable as a new form of capitalism which may be designated as National State-Directed Capitalism. The essential feature of this system is that the State uses the institutions of private ownership to carry out politically determined policies of national expansion."[5]

But, since centralization is the trend of the day, the question which immediately arises is this — what is the purpose underlying this trend? As G. D. H. Cole has pointed out, "Europe before the war was an economic monstrosity"[6] and Hitler has today embarked on a plan of unification. But in the Nazi system the end to be won is the elevation of the Aryan "race" at the expense of all other peoples who inhabit the earth. In the case of certain cartel arrangements the aim has been to increase the power of a small group of men in control at the expense of the great masses of people whose standard of living is lowered by the curtailment of production and the unequal distribution of goods.

The people who are living in this age of crisis must become aware of the trends which are coming clearly into focus; they must cast off their apathy and take their stand in terms of the democratic principles in which they believe. Centralization and unification—including both overall planning and planned decentralization—are becoming more and more accepted as necessary expedients in the modern day, but they must be carried on by the people themselves for the welfare of everyone. Decent housing for all, a balanced diet, a job, health and welfare services, opportunities for recreation—these are the purposes which must underlie all centralized planning.

It will be impossible to crush the human spirit forever and man will continue to push upward through the crust which holds him back, but unless we act now to prevent an economy which is

planned for the benefit of the few from gaining a grip on our total life we are laying the foundation for a future against which many a free soul will struggle in vain. To quote again from Robert Lynd, "The central problem disrupting our world, the most dangerous issue democracy faces, is not basically created by Adolf Hitler and the Axis nations, but by the organized economic power backing the Hitlers in nation after nation throughout the industrial world as a device for shoring up for yet awhile longer a disintegrating economic system."[7]

A bold statement such as this at first glance makes us tremble for all that we value in the present but we must always understand the meaning in terms of the transitional period through which we are passing—a period in which man is changing his framework from the structure which was adequate for the Middle Ages to a structure which will be adequate to take care of all the new resources for happiness which we now have at our command. Peter Drucker tells us that the main reason why the German people followed the Nazis into Fascism, in spite of the inconsistencies which were inherent in the program from the beginning, was because, when the values they knew collapsed with a disintegrating economic system, they did not have a vision of a new society in the future which they could themselves build, but rather clutched at the only available straw which offered the outward signs of the old order—the promises of the Nazi Party, contradictory though they were.[8]

We in this country can learn from what has happened in a great country such as Germany and thus be ready to direct the course of events so that, in truth, the foundation we lay for a new and better society will have as its basis the welfare of the common man, wherever he may be. Because we live in a country which is to have such a powerful influence on the trend of war and post-war world affairs the effect of what we do will bear results far out of proportion to the amount of effort we put forth. Whatever happens we must hold fast to our belief in the light of history that a new and better world is already in process of formation, and we must bend every effort to bring that world into being at the soonest possible moment. No matter how black

the immediate scene appears to be we must hold to this belief and work for its realization. Dr. Tillich has expressed this in terms of Christian theology when he writes, "It is a general experience that in the moment in which the divine breaks into the temporal and a new Kairos (a new revelation of the nature of God) is approaching, the demonic acquires increased power."[9] As citizens in a Christian civilization this must be the faith on which we act.

REVOLUTION SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

It is as we gain perspective regarding the trend of events over the long period that we are enabled to escape the pit-falls of a view which is limited to the ups and downs of daily incidents. The cruelties and crudities inherent in a period of Revolution and Counter-Revolution will not blur our understanding of the basic issues involved. The history of the last four hundred years is studded with revolutions, in varying degrees of intensity and maturity, of a suppressed group of people rising against a dominating class —The English Revolution 1688, the American Revolution 1776, the French Revolution 1789, the Chinese Revolution 1911, the Russian Revolution 1917. The seventeenth and eighteenth century revolutions represented the protest of the rising and expanding middle class against the restrictions of the ruling nobility. The Russian Revolution and, to a degree, the Chinese Revolution, coming at a later period and taking place in countries which had been little industrialized, plunged deeper and represented the revolt of the broader mass of people against the ruling nobility. Each was a manifestation of the new life which had been released in the towns of the Middle Ages, an ever-recurring demand to throw off the restraint of traditional groups which hampered the free flow of ideas and actions.

CHINA TODAY

What is happening today to these forces in the various countries we have mentioned? In China the governing groups have been loath to relax their hold on the life of the nation and since the death of Sun Yat-Sen in 1925 there has been a continual struggle between the democratic and the traditionalist elements in the country. We of the powerful Western democracies must realize the responsibility which

we bear for the future of China and for whether that future is to be for the millions of Chinese people or not. To see the way in which Japanese democratic elements were defeated at the time of the Manchurian invasion because of Great Britain's refusal to resist the Japanese military aggression in spite of the internal dissension regarding policy within the Japanese government, or to know that Japan secured from the United States 54.4 percent of its war imports in 1937, including 92.9 per cent of its imports of copper, 91.2 percent of automobiles and parts, 60.5 percent of oil (and a much higher percentage of aviation gasoline), 41.6 percent of pig iron, 59.7 percent of other iron, 48.5 percent of machinery and engines, 20.4 percent of zinc,[10] is to realize the extent to which the actions of foreign countries influence the internal policy of a nation. It is our responsibility to recognize the constructive forces in China and aid them in their struggle against internal reaction and Japanese Fascism—to lend our support, specifically, to the democratic elements within the Kuomintang, to the grassroots policy of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, to the military successes, medical and educational achievements, and peasant rehabilitation efforts of the New Fourth Route and Eighth Route Armies, and to the Three Principles of Sun Yat-Sen — Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood.

THE SOVIET UNION TODAY

The magnificent stand of Soviet Russia against the Nazi invaders can only, at this time, inspire us with heart-felt gratitude. That Russia, twenty-five years after the chaos and confusion following the Revolution, has been able to bear the full brunt of total war is in itself an indication of the new life and vitality which has been growing by leaps and bounds within its planned economy. It is impossible within the span of a brief pamphlet to discuss the various features of the Soviet economy, about which many questions are being asked, such as the One-Party System, the Five-Year Plans, the Constitution of 1936 which has been called the most democratic constitution in the world, the integration of nationality and racial groups, the enfranchisement of all the people including 50,000 practicing Greek Orthodox priests and several hundred Roman

Catholics, Evangelicals, Mohammedans and Buddhists, the treason trials and the Third International.* There is, however, an urgent need that we should inform ourselves concerning the economic and political life of a country with which we are now so closely associated so that we may be able to see beyond the conflicts and crudities which are inherent in any violent revolutionary period to the common purpose in the light of which we can cooperate.

Although it is true that the Soviet Union will not as yet permit any criticism of the living philosophy of the Communist Party, one must remember that Russia has been surrounded by a ring of hostile countries since the successful carrying through of its revolution in 1917. Had our country been placed in a similar situation it is not likely that the degree of free speech which we now enjoy would have survived to its present extent. On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. does encourage the free criticism of its business enterprise by all the people; this we may note is something which is not encouraged, and in many cases disregarded in the western democracies. Without doubt the growth of freedom of thought and expression depends in considerable measure on the opportunity which Soviet Russia is given to maintain peaceful relations with the rest of the world and increase its internal prosperity through the production of the goods of peace rather than the goods of war. This is where we who believe in democracy in America can again exercise our influence in behalf of the strengthening of democracy elsewhere. In this case, we can insist on treating Russia on terms of equality, on cooperating with her in the working out of a permanent peace based on the welfare of the common man, on assuring her of our friendship and of our desire to share with her in a common purpose. In an atmosphere of understanding and confidence such as this the Soviet Union will gradually come forth from its previous seclusion, will establish inter-relationships with other countries for the purpose of mutual benefit and will encourage the free discussion of all ideas. Soviet Russia is justly proud of the advances which have been made within the brief span of a quarter of a century.

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* The recent book by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the English social economists, called "The Truth About Soviet Russia" contains much information in concise and readable form. See bibliography.

A vital and fundamental change in the ordering of society for the improvement of man's social relationships is in process of being realized, a change which, to use the words of Beatrice Webb, is "so conducive to the progress of humanity to higher levels of health and happiness, virtue and wisdom, as to constitute a new civilization".[11] If peace and prosperity are won we can well look forward in the future to a great contribution from Russia in the fields of music, art, and literature; a country which has felt the surge of new freedom and which has in its past the minds and works of a Tschaikowsky, a Tolstoy and a Dostoevski is certain to express again the deepest experiences and yearnings of man's nature.

THE TRAGEDY OF FRANCE

The collapse of France stands in striking contrast. This downfall had its roots in a vast complexity of causes; yet, in this complexity, certain trends which led to the disintegration of the French Republic are clearly discernible. The concentration of economic power among French financiers and industrialists and their collaboration with German interests, the cynicism of the political leaders, the lack of integrity of the press, the bureaucratic ineptitude of the middle class and the petty sectarian quarrels of the social democratic elements resulted in the failure of French leaders to mobilize the resources of the country so as to enlist the support of the French people. In the recent history of France we have a clear picture of the inadequacy of the incentives of economic individualism in the hour of peril to mobilize effectively the resources of the country for the common good. The French Revolution with its slogan of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" represented in the main the struggle of the rising middle class to free itself from the last remaining restraints of feudalism, and in the light of nineteenth century France, this was a purpose which was fulfilled in an expanding capitalist enterprise. But as capitalism in France reached its restrictive stage, the hopes and fears and desires of the broad mass of common people were not integrated into a constructive effort and the French nation fell for lack of vitality to withstand the force arrayed against it.

What of Great Britain in the world of today and tomorrow?

The English Revolution of 1688 firmly established the middle class in rising supremacy, and John Locke gave expression to this social force when he said that the goal of man's endeavor was "life, liberty and the pursuit of property." But England today, as did France of yesterday, stands at the parting of the ways. The fortunate thing is that England, with all her power and opportunity for promoting freedom in the modern world, has been given a second chance. But British conservatism still has not sufficiently responded to the urgent demands of the deepening social crisis. The grip on a colonial empire still exists in spite of the trend towards a Commonwealth of Nations. France capitulated completely before the people were able to spring back and muster their resources for the attack. But England has been given a breathing-space in which to revise her institutions to provide for this new release—to re-order her economy and to give expression to the surge of people's demands both in the homeland and in the colonial empire. As Harold Laski of the London School of Economics writes, "The business of war is to break the will of your enemy, and your endurance depends on your power to arouse hope and exhilaration in the masses. These are not likely to be aroused if . . . you offer the masses the traditional system as the reward of the effort and sacrifice. Still less are they likely to be aroused if you call the traditional system freedom and democracy when millions of your citizens have not experienced it as either."[12] Great Britain is confronted today with the familiar modern dilemma—how can the resources which have developed with the modern industrial system be utilized in such a way as to ensure that ultimate power resides with the people and not with a few industrial magnates or government members representing these interests at the top? In its broadest aspects it is a question of crucial importance, for the way in which this dilemma is resolved bears consequences for millions of people.

GREAT BRITAIN TODAY

Barbara Ward of the London School of Economics and of the English Catholic Sword of the Spirit of Movement expresses what is at stake in this way, "It is a terrifying and sobering experience to stand at a fork in the road and watch the great, incoherent, bewildered, baffled, hungry, hopeful mass of humanity that

makes up a nation, swaying, and moving as it takes the decision down which of the two roads to turn. At such moments, decisive leadership, the emergence of a clear and compelling voice can set the mass in motion. So far, Britain is not committed either to the right path or the wrong. She has within her uncertain self the power to decide for either direction — for the twentieth century version of slavery which we already know, or the twentieth century version of freedom which is yet to be. The old voices, to Right or Left, have failed. From the ferment among the people, some form of leadership will be thrown up. It will not necessarily be good leadership — but it will certainly be new."[13] This is the critical juncture to which we have come in an economic system unable to resolve its contradictions except by the artificial stimulation of a war-economy. The road which the capitalist entrepreneur took in the Middle Ages has led us to "a blind alley". It is time that we consciously set about to find the right path, the path which leads to the continued and ever deepening inner life of each individual throughout the masses of the world.

THE UNITED STATES TODAY

And what of the United States in this present era, this wealthy and powerful country which is just beginning to realize the extent of its influence in all parts of the world? The United States, as well as these various other countries, went through its revolutionary period and in that revolution won its independence and its freedom to direct its own economic life. This brought to the rising middle class of this country the opportunity to develop freely the agricultural and industrial life of the nation, and with an expanding western frontier and increasing markets our hopes for the future seemed to be unlimited. But with the passing of the frontier, the method we had utilized for "taking up the slack" disappeared. No longer was a natural outlet provided for expansion and the development of individual enterprise. The economic incentives which had been the driving-force of an expanding economy were no longer challenged by an abundance of untapped resources. The capitalist system was now confronted with the inconsistencies inherent in its own mechanism. The harsh effects of the com-

petitive search for domestic and foreign markets led, on the one hand, to the decline of weak industries and, on the other, to the more refined controls of resources and of production. The inevitable consequence of this rigidity was the increasing severity of economic depression with all its glaring social costs.

The forces which were released at the time of the American Revolution were adequate to promote the development of a great continent but were not adequate to extend the gains for the benefit of all. Rather each was encouraged to look out for himself and "the devil take the hindmost". Once we were brought face to face with ourselves at the moment when our expanding frontier disappeared we discovered that we too, in spite of being "the land of hope and opportunity" were developing the same diseases which had been apparent in other countries. We developed them because we too had not guided our unleashed forces for the common good.

This is where we in the United States stand today. We are face to face with the fact that our economic system has prevented a large proportion of our people from giving expression to their aspiration which is their democratic right and a part of their Christian heritage. This holds true today as much for the Negro and the sharecropper in the South as it used to hold for the sweatshop girls in New England. The same spirit which revolted against the restrictions of colonial status and the domination of a ruling class is again expressing itself in reaction against a new repression, a repression which has this time appeared in the claim of a powerful minority to control the destinies of the people whose lives come within their influence.

The responsibility which rests on the people of this country is of gigantic proportions, for not only do they have their own "good society" for the future to bring into being but they also influence by their every thought and action the course of events in other countries because of the wealth and power which is inherent in this country by its very nature.

A quotation from a distinguished Englishman in the British Government will give us some idea of the way in which other countries are looking to the people of the United States for leader-

ship. "It is difficult for Britain to make definite post-war plans not knowing what America is going to do when peace comes. If America chooses again to go isolationist there will be another war. And of course the next war will be even more terrible than this one. If America, on the other hand, chooses to participate in world affairs she will be the leader of the world and Britain will become her junior partner. The intelligent Englishman is adjusted to this point of view. Gradually the man in the street is recognizing that the leadership of world affairs is passing westward, to the new world, to America. Our greatest concern is whether America realizes what is happening, realizes that she will determine world history from this point on, whether she wants to or not, whether she again withdraws from the international scene or takes a leading part in reshaping it for a better future. Our greatest hope is that Americans may recognize now, before it is too late, that your power and your resources, your wealth, your influence give you the greatest worldwide responsibilities and opportunities any country has ever had in all history."[14]

The new forces which entered the economic life of the Middle Ages were used so as to bring prosperity and plenty to the few rather than to the many. All the resources attendant on this discovery of a new economic and industrial life are still waiting to be utilized for the good of all the people. How long can we afford to tolerate the economic maladjustments of the modern age — with the recurring depressions, the poverty, war, and in these days, slavery, for the masses of common people? Are we seeking to learn the meaning of the trend of events from the experience of France before it is too late for us also in this country — before we also lose our democratic heritage?

The spirit of freedom revolted against the domination of a feudal nobility and clergy. New life and resources entered the Middle Ages to break the moulds in which the life of that day was cast. But these new resources were not channelled for the good of the common man. Today the same spirit is revolting again against the restrictions of our economic life. It is our task to change the course of the stream so that it will flow towards the consumer and not the producer and bring the possibility of

a more abundant life to all people. This is the first essential in building the good society of the future for man who lives in an an open universe. It is only as this "re-routing" of the economic life and resources of the present period takes place that we can insure that each individual will have the opportunity for spiritual enrichment — the deepening of man's inner life — in the future.

This is the power which at this moment resides in our hands. The whole world will be enabled to take a tremendous step forward towards the realization of the future society if we will but now throw our full weight behind the democratic forces in our own country and the democratic forces struggling to be heard in the other countries of the world. The unity of the peoples of the world! The release of the spirit of the common man! The continuance of the process which began in the little towns in the Middle Ages. This is America's privilege—to be the instrument for the realization of this dream.

III.

CONSTRUCTIVE CREATIVITY AND DESTRUCTIVE CREATIVITY — GOOD AND EVIL IN THE MODERN WORLD —

THE MEANING OF GOOD AND EVIL FOR OUR DAY

How are we in this modern period to understand the meaning of good and evil for our day, the tremendous forces, the operation of which man has sensed since first he began to contemplate the universe and his own relation to it?

For such a world as this, a world which we feel and know to be in constant motion, pulsating with new and undiscovered energy, changing with each new invention, moving through space with tremendous speed, a static concept of good and evil carries no meaning. Merely abiding by the commands of certain superficial rules and principles is likely to bring us to grief, for customs which held good in a world of fixed habit and appearance will in all probability disintegrate in a thousand pieces in a world which is shot through with motion, change, and discovery. We are living in the kind of period which forces us to re-examine the structure of life we have taken for granted, to thrust deeper and deeper into the springs of action which move us to act as we do. This is a time which demands the deepest soul-searching, for in a world of energy, speed and change, it will be without question the dynamic which lives at the center of our lives that will determine the choices we make. A dynamic universe demands a dynamic individual. The question arises—in what form is this new power and energy to express itself?

Already man has responded to the demands of a dynamic universe, and round about us we constantly see the operation of new creativity in its two traditional forms—the evil and the good, destructive creativity and constructive creativity. Each has grown out of the new life which appeared in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance and Reformation. One represents the path which the operation of individual initiative without social purpose has

followed. The other represents the efforts which constructive creativity has put forth to turn aside the course of the destructive forces proceeding along the road which leads to chaos and to set their course in a direction which will make for a wider distribution of the fruits of human effort.

DESTRUCTIVE CREATIVITY

The profit-motive under capitalism, with all the stages which have followed each upon the other, has provided the destructive outlet for creative energy. The aggrandizement of the self at the expense of others has been the structure through which this energy poured itself. As the Archbishop of Canterbury has written, "So long as we rely on the Profit-motive (as distinct from a secure but limited return on capital invested) as the mainspring of production, so long we shall be in a condition always verging towards faction within and war without . . . Finance ought never to be in positive control. It exists for the sake of production. And production exists for the sake of consumption. The hungry and needy public ought to be the controlling group."[15]

Today in its economic form this drive is expressing itself in two major ways. One is in a nostalgia for the past, sometimes for the days of expanding capitalism of the nineteenth century, sometimes for the relatively untroubled life of the Middle Ages. In this case the self-centredness inherent in the capitalist system has produced the frustration and lack of confidence in the future which a system based on a principle which is the antithesis of the natural order and of the Christian Gospel can be expected to produce. Seeing no hope for the future these people cling to the past, hoping in this way to find the security which they are able to find nowhere in the present.

The other form which this misdirected impulse is taking in the present world is the drive towards power for the sake of power, the concerted effort which big business and monopoly is making to gain control of the total national economy through the control of the heart of the system. A small minority by means of the operation of domestic and international cartels is using every opportunity to gain a strangle-hold on production for their own benefit[16]—and not for the benefit of the masses of the

people. This amounts to a refusal to allow the consumer to benefit from the economies of mass production. The policy which is followed is one of high costs and small turn-over for the reason that profits realized on the spot are more attractive than the long-term planning of mass production and the consequent financial risk involved. When agreements begin to be made on an international basis so that a company from one country is given complete leeway without foreign competition to control the distribution of a certain product in return for a similar concession relating to the control of another, the throttling of production and the consequent injurious effects on all the people of these areas becomes a matter of serious import which demands the attention of all freedom-loving people. Vital as this is in time of peace the consequences can be catastrophic in time of war if a nation is prevented from developing the necessities of a war-time economy by the fact of commercial agreements between monopolistic industries which stifle production in the countries involved, as was revealed in the recent international cartel investigations which Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney-General of the U. S., conducted regarding agreements between American and German firms. The far-reaching importance of these various attempts to gain control of the life-streams of production and the tremendous potential power of a chemical corporation such as that of I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany for the post-war world comes into stark relief against this statement from Thurman Arnold himself: "We are now on the verge of a new industrial age — the age of light metals and plastics and chemicals. The economic progress of man is dependent upon the discovery and use of new metals. The scarcity of the bronze age was succeeded by the plenty of the iron age. Then a new economy of plenty was created by the steel age. Today the unlimited possibilities of the age of light metals and chemicals lie before us. There is only one danger: that the new light metals or other vital materials will again fall into the hands of cartels with power to restrict their supply and make them high-cost specialties."[17] Thus a system of unregulated competition is moving into the more dangerous phase of restriction in productive activity. It implies a destructive use of the creative functioning of the human mind. It indicates that constructive

forces must be marshalled and united now for the sake of the future good of the people.

Nationalism which seeks the aggrandisement of the group at the expense of other national groups, and imperialism, which seeks the aggrandisement of the nation through the exploitation of less economically advanced peoples are two other forces injurious to the people which have developed out of a system based on self-centredness. The world has become a welter of conflicting national groups each demanding its place in the sun irrespective of the wishes of the minority groups who live within and on the fringes of the territory demanded. The solutions advanced have usually proved to be as bad or worse than the disease, for the solutions themselves have recognized a principle which was inherently wrong in its formation—and that is, the right of one group of people to impose its limited concepts on the life and thought of other groups of people. Europe in the post-war world, positing a United Nations victory, will never find the means of achieving peace and cooperation until a method of government is discovered which will not be based on an "either-or" decision resulting in the supremacy of one group but rather will offer each group the opportunity to contribute its skill and cultural attainments to the whole for the general enrichment of the whole, a method which will have as its avowed purpose the satisfactory handling of the sum-total of popular needs and demands. Such a purpose as this will represent the re-channelling of energy so as to produce a way of living which will not continue to flow in a wrong and perverted direction. As for imperialism, this again is a perversion which has grown out of a system having its basis in the acquisitive spirit. When the profit-motive for the self is the standard of values, the energy of the controlling group is employed to increase its own wealth and power, and realize its own plans for self-advancement. The development of the lives of those who are subservient is of secondary importance. They are utilized to carry out the wishes and to fit into the culture-pattern of the controlling group. A comparison of the growth of literacy in India under British rule, in the Philippines under American rule, and in the Soviet Union is indicative of the trend

of this line of development. After 180 years of British rule 93 percent of the Indian population is still illiterate; after 40 years of American control of the Philippines, illiteracy was reduced from 98 percent to 45 percent; after 20 years in the Soviet Union, illiteracy was cut from 78 percent to 8 percent.[18] These are facts which tell a tale which, in the world of today with its tremendous potential for good and evil, we cannot afford to disregard. Imperialism is repressive and any form of control which in a world of pulsating energy seeks to maintain order by repression is not only eventually doomed to failure, but, unless its actions are consciously redirected by those who recognize the trend, it will only bring in its train unnecessary misery and tragedy for the millions of people who suffer under it.

And what of Fascism, this hybrid monstrosity which is seeking to extend its sinister form throughout Europe and make its impact felt over the whole world? Fascism as it appeared in Italy came in the wake of the 1920 post-war unemployment, inflation and disillusion. Mussolini's program when he finally acquired power in 1922 included two main elements—the formation of the corporative state and the restoration of the Roman Empire. In the economic sphere, Mussolini continued in the tradition of private production although he divided industry into great corporations with equal representation of employers and employees on the governing Boards, in addition to the three Fascist Party members. But on the whole the big industrialists benefited while the workers suffered. The day laborers were not helped and the artisan class bore the brunt of unemployment and loss of savings. Mussolini himself was Nation-intoxicated and he bent every effort to arouse in the people of Italy a similar emotion but his Fascist propaganda did not make warriors of the people, but rather, bred in them only a resignation to war.

Nazism in Germany was the result of an alliance between powerful financial and business interests which had developed strong monopolistic controls and the little people of the middle class, rendered hopeless by the effects of the war and by the post-war inflation, struggling in one last desperate effort to gain a place of respect and security in the crumbling ruins of a disinte-

grating economic system. This is a fate which might have befallen any group of middle class people in any country confronted with loss of certainty in the present and loss of hope for the future. Rather than face squarely and fearlessly the inadequacies of a capitalist civilization, they caught at the Nazi quackery of the "master race" to bolster their falling ego and then turned upon the "inferior races" to vent the furies of their frustration. These were not the people who made the Russian Revolution, who felt that there was everything to gain and nothing to lose. These were the people who had once experienced a certain measure of security through the operation of a vigorous capitalism; they were the people who, having tasted of security, were afraid to face a future without it and hence were ready to grasp at any available device which carried with it the trimmings of the old order. Their creative impulses had been turned in upon themselves and never released for outgoing cultural attainment. Their minds had been shaped by the system in which they were caught and they had become mere "hangers-on". The day-to-day events which formed the fabric of their lives offered them no more than the frustration of an uncertain future. They could see no farther than the bread and butter needs of the present. They had not been inspired by a vision of the future for which they would gladly and willingly sacrifice the present. This was the reason for their response to Hitler's personality for in his own frustration he caught up their frustration and he offered them the seeming opportunity to become once more the self-respecting people of former days.

It is the tragic story of the "little people" everywhere, seeking the self-respect and status which is their right, not becoming great through the greatness of an idea and a faith, seeking to fill the void through personal aggrandizement and the psychological elevation of the self — this time in the over-arching concept of "the master race," driven to force others to accept this self-estimate, and committing against their fellow-man whatever sins the demands of an untrammelled, unrestrained and frustrated ego impel them on to commit. This is the end to which a structure built on false and wrong foundations points. It is a fate which might have happened to any one of a nummber of countries, but

in the web of circumstance it has been the German nation which has portrayed for the world the consequences of the wrong use of the resources and dynamic which man has been given. Ours is a task not to condemn, for our own sins are great, but to aid these tortured people to find the way by which they can express the genius of their race for the good, and not the degradation, of all the people of the world whatever their nationality or country.

CONSTRUCTIVE CREATIVITY

The signs of the times, however, do not all point to the chaotic consequences of misdirected energy. Constructive creativity is appearing in manifold forms within all the countries of the world. When Vice-President Wallace said, "I say that the century on which we are entering —the century which will come out of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man,"[19] he was giving expression to this new force which is gaining in strength with every day. The increasing resistance to the dominating control of monopoly capitalism, the growth of the positive conception of the Social Service State, the formulation of a social welfare plan such as the Beveridge Plan in England, the new emphasis on the consumer and not the producer, the demands of the suppressed races for freedom as in India, in the Dutch East Indies, in South Africa and America, the tremendous strides made within the Soviet Union, the developing idea that the economic life of a nation can be handled in such a way as to release the maximum energies of the individual for the enrichment of the inner person, the formation of groups organized for the realization of these purposes such as the trade unions, the cooperatives, and the various socio-political parties are all indications of the fact that life is beginning to be organized around a different purpose.

What is happening to women the world over is again indicative of the trend of events. Women are seeking freedom from the dominating patriarchal system of the past; they are seeking freedom to act as individuals in their own right, to form their own opinions as human beings and to act freely in the light of their own convictions. The Nazi theory with regard to women refuses to take cognizance of the new place which women are assuming in the world, and although women have been entering industry to

meet the labor demands of a war economy, the underlying philosophy in its essentials remains Kitchen, Children, Church (Küchen, Kinder, Kirchen). In Japan, even though within the confines of the home the Japanese woman does exercise a practical influence, the rights of women receive no legal or official recognition. But the spirit which has been appearing in so many forms in the modern period will never in women submit to repression and domination any more than will the human race itself for freedom to grow and develop and create is in the air and it is no more possible to repress it than to withstand the irresistible movement of natural forces.

Edgar Snow, who has lived in China during much of the war, writes in a delightful and revealing way concerning the way in which the women of China have carried their full share of the burden of war. "What would the mandarin's delicate, lily-footed not-to-be glimpsed lady of 1911 have thought of a Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek in slacks and sandals, going through the stink and blood of hospitals to cheer and comfort the heroic 'coolie'? And Mme. Chiang's energy and many-sided competence is but one example of the thousands of women whose character and personality have matured under the hammerings of war. How many an awakened peasant girl, compelled to shoulder the burdens of a family, has discovered strength to meet it? . . . Of course 'mobilization of women' is still incomplete and millions are exceptions to every other tendency of social change. . . . There are regions where war has brought only death and disease and retrogression and over great areas all the old evils flourish as before. Still, in other places, often far back in remote villages where you might least expect it, the war has set loose an epidemic of ideas and changes which nothing less than revolutionary struggle could have achieved."[20] The education of women by the New Fourth Route and the Eighth Route Armies and by the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives has proceeded apace and is another evidence of the fact that a new day for women has dawned in China.

A quotation from Lieutenant Luidmila Pavlichenko of the Soviet Union is also very revealing regarding the strides which women have taken since the 1917 Revolution. She writes, "Our

women were on a basis of complete equality long before the war. From the first day of the Revolution full rights were granted the women of Soviet Russia. One of the most important things is that every woman has her own specialty. That is what actually makes them as independent as men. Soviet women have complete self-respect, because their dignity as human beings is fully recognized. Whatever we do, we are honored not just as women, but as individual personalities, as human beings. That is a very big word. Because we can be fully that, we feel no limitations because of our sex. That is why women have so naturally taken their places beside men in this war."[21]

In England, too, the role of women has been gaining new significance; the Auxiliary Territorial Service, the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, the Land Army women, the Women's Royal Naval Service, the employment of 5½ million women in war industries, the civil defense corps, and the Women's Voluntary Service are indicative of the large responsibility which women are taking in the total war program. The recent demand from the floor of the British House of Commons by women leaders of England for equal compensation with men for civilian war injuries, since women are paying equal income taxes and are risking their lives in the same way,[22] again indicates the way in which women in this period are seeking the opportunity to live their lives freely and on a basis of equality.

In the United States the doors to many of the professions have gradually been opened and, with the increased need for women in industry in a war economy new and varied opportunities for both married and unmarried women have appeared on the scene. One of the greatest needs that confronts women in America seeking to take their rightful place in society is the security which comes from an equal opportunity to make a living. Until this right is won and women no longer feel the necessity of constantly struggling to maintain a position which is rightfully theirs, it will not be possible for them to take their place naturally and without forceful effort in community life, acting so as to complement the contribution which is made by men. Women have a very great contribution to make but it is a contribution which is not made

in its most effective way in the midst of continual struggle for freedom, recognition and equality. Once woman's place in the community life is taken for granted as the natural place for her to be along with the men with whom she works whether it is in business, in the professions, in industry or in rural enterprises, she will be enabled to take her mind off the struggle which relates merely to herself and her prerogative and enter wholeheartedly into enriching the various aspects of community life with the unique contributions she has to give. The assumption of these community responsibilities should, however, be assumed by women with graciousness and understanding, and not in a spirit of unthinking competition. The relations of men to women and of women to men for the society of the future must be built on new presuppositions which will be in full accord with a world in which creative initiative, wherever it appears, is given the freest opportunity to express itself in constructive channels.

A new conception of family life is also taking the place of the old—for family life is coming to be based on the freedom of each individual within the group, father, mother and children, and in the future it will be held together by its intrinsic strength and not by coercion or social pressure from the outside. In the transition from the old to the new, many marriages have broken apart through lack of knowledge and skill regarding the way in which this new freedom is to be dealt with. But as men and women become more expert in their handling of human relationships and understand more fully what it is that constitutes the intangible ties which provide the core of this "intrinsic strength", fewer marriages will be broken and more men and women will experience the stability which comes as the by-product of a vibrant family relationship. An attempt to return to the pattern of subtle repression as a solution for the problems of the present is only the height of folly. The solution lies in our continued effort to learn how to live with the new forces which have been released and which offer the greatest potentialities for happiness in the future.

Family relationships of this kind will provide an orientation of far-reaching importance for the understanding and the solution

of social and political problems, for when a child learns the meaning, strength and discipline of freedom from his infancy he will not be so prone to dominate others or expect submission from others in his social relationships. In this way it will become more nearly possible to insure "a dynamic equilibrium" in community and international relationships for the leaders will have learned, through the life they have lived within the family group, to solve the problems confronting them on the basis of "dynamic equilibrium" — a maximum effort to meet the demands and release the resources of every group for the common good. This will be far from a static once-and-for-all solution, but of what use is a static solution in a dynamic universe? Should such a society come to pass it would in reality be confronted with the greatest problem of all — the problem of infusing new impetus into its rigid moulds. We must rid ourselves of our fear of change and our dislike of constant effort and continual thought. We must place ourselves within the stream of life. This is the kind of universe in which we live and we must make ourselves the kind of people who are great enough to live in it. Men and women are discovering a new way of living together. This discovery must continue in order that the new family may become the source of stability in the dynamic society of the future.

The great need of the present day is that Christian people should become increasingly sensitive to the places in which this new stream of life is appearing. They must consciously seek to foster its growth, and not allow their vision to be blurred by the half-way realizations and contradictions which are inevitable as any group of people attempts to put into practice a truly great idea. They must not be content merely to analyse and criticize from the outside what is taking place, but they must become active participants in making possible a greater release of creative energy into constructive channels. This is the way in which the God of the universe would have us live, and when we abuse the resources and vitality He has given us, when we use these for our own benefit and self-aggrandisement instead of for the good of all His people each of whom "is precious in His sight", we are justly visited with His wrath and we will suffer until we learn

that we have done wrong, are deeply repentant for our misdeeds, and are actively in search of finding the way to right the wrongs of the past. The impulse for gain was a mode of earning a livelihood which was based on wrong presuppositions from its inception for it depended on a self-centered concern for one's own future. Attempts to right this wrong have been unceasing and are now gaining new strength with each day. The future holds the greatest potentialities for good if we but have faith in God's purpose for man and, without fear, steadfastly set our faces towards the realization of a new community which will be adequate to the life of our day.

* * *

And the earth was waste and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.

* * *

IV.

THE PRACTICAL ISSUES OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

THE IMPORTANCE OF POLICY RATHER THAN BLUEPRINTS

Literally hundreds of schemes and plans for post-war reconstruction from individuals and groups have been advanced for the reordering of the affairs of the world. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that the great need of the present is the establishment of an underlying policy which will serve to guide action, rather than the continued outlining of faultless blue-prints. To quote Vera Micheles Dean, "What we need most of all today is not a detailed blue-print for a new world-organization, but a new philosophy of relations between men and between nations."[23] Suggestions for political change will not meet the needs of the present hour whatever the various individuals and groups seeking power in the post-war world may say. The urgent demand is rather for the declaration of basic economic and social principles which the democratic forces in the United Nations—China, Russia, Great Britain and the United States — can use as their guiding light. The setting up of a conglomeration of little national states dotting the face of Europe and each intent on realizing its own purposes regardless of the rest cannot but end in another catastrophe which will be even more terrible than this, with the continued advance of science.

ECONOMIC POLICY UNDERGIRDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The crucial point in the strengthening of the United Nations ties of friendship revolves, in brief, around the group of men who represent the democratic countries and who hold the reins of power in the negotiations. Will the democracies be represented by capitalist monopoly and all that capitalist monopoly implies for the future, or will they insist on representation by men and women who have the interests of the people, not only of this country, but of all the countries of the world at heart? To be even more specific, which representatives are the people of *the United States* going to support for, as G. D. H. Cole[24] points out,

the forces which gain control in Great Britain will be influenced by those which gain control in the United States and even now the British monopolists are looking toward their fellows in the United States for aid to strengthen their position and impose a capitalist peace on the world. If it is these interests which represent the democracies in the peace negotiations we may entertain few hopes that any agreement will be reached which will be mutually satisfactory to these men and to the representatives of the Soviet Union and China. We, in this country, must begin now to make plans to ensure that our representatives will be persons who represent the interests of the people of this country, persons who are more intent on laying the foundation of a system of economic relationships which will ensure the peace of the world than on building for themselves an economic empire encircling the earth.

The secret to the success of the United Nations cooperation in the post-war world rests in the recognition of the existence and importance of the unfulfilled longings of the common man—the need for giving him the opportunity to release his energy in purposeful work, to improve his standards of living, to have an active part in building the society of the future. This implies that economic expansion must be the keynote to post-war economic reconstruction and this in turn implies an expanding Social Service State and not a restrictive capitalist state. International cartels must be brought under supervision and their great world organization utilized for lowering costs and lowering prices rather than restricting output for the sake of high prices and low risk. National sovereignty must also be subjected to the principle of the public interest but, along with this, cultural resources must be given the maximum opportunity for self-expression.

With basic principles such as these in mind it would then be possible to think in terms of the political framework which would work most successfully for the realization of these ends. Hitler has already completely reorganized the European economy around the idea of creating a centralized Europe with Germany as the cultural, military and economic leader. Millions of people have

POLITICAL POLICY UNDERGIRDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

been forcibly moved from their homes to other areas. Other millions of people have been killed or have starved. The face of Europe is no longer what it was in 1938. We must accustom our minds to a new and different method of planning. We must accept Hugeness—but we must find a means of not being drowned in it.[25] This can only be accomplished if in the first place we think in terms of small groups which will give each citizen a sense of individual responsibility for his group, and in the second place of large regions which would be big enough to combine various peoples with diverse interests and traditions.

Beyond these regional groupings there is need for a World Federation of some kind in which a European Federation would have its place. Lewis Lorwin[26] has summed up some stimulating suggestions regarding the method by which such a Federation could be constructed from the bottom up, rather than from the top down. In the plan he describes, various international organizations would be set up as needed to meet demands as they appeared. These organizations would be closely tied to the corresponding organizations in separate countries and would be very responsive to local needs. They would not be centered at one place but would be located in various places according to the function which the particular organization fulfilled. In this way these various international institutions could be built into the warp and woof of the life of the countries of the world. Then with increasing development and the need for closer coordination, an over-all World Federation would probably become necessary and would accordingly be set up. In this way world organization would be rooted in the life-stream of the various countries or regional groupings. The initial Commissions proposed include those which would deal with International Relief and Social Assistance, World Economic Development, International Colonial Administration, Permanent Peace, World Education and Recreation and a World Assembly of Nations.

The Master Lend-Lease Agreements which the United States has made with our three major Allies, Great Britain, Russia and China, as well as with many of the smaller nations, carry implications of far-reaching importance for the post-war world as well

as for the present period. The United States has pledged in these agreements that the conditions of repayment shall be such "as to promote the betterment of world-wide economic relations". Since the United States will be the strongest creditor nation following the war the Lend-Lease Agreements, if used for this purpose, can become an instrument of tremendous power in affecting basic economic readjustments on a world-wide scale, especially with reference to freedom of exchange and access to vital materials.[27]

DOMESTIC RECONSTRUCTION

It is not enough, however, to set up policy and work out paper plans for bringing order out of chaos in the international scene, for any proposal, no matter how well conceived, can soon be wrecked by severe dislocations and fluctuations in the American economy. Alvin Hansen points this up when he says, "With respect to the United States, it may be asserted with confidence that this country could make no greater contribution toward the solution of the international political as well as economic problems than that of achieving a high degree of internal economic stability at a level of fairly full employment of labor and other resources. It is a fact that the extraordinary instability of the American economy presents one of the most serious problems confronting Europe."[28]

What plans are we carrying through on the home front to ensure the growth of democratic rights and to increase the opportunity to assume democratic obligations? What means are we adopting now to bring about economic stability in the years following the war? A matter of vital concern to all is the means by which a more equitable distribution of family income can be obtained since "in 1935-36, 14 per cent of all families (of two or more persons) received less than $500 during the year; 42 per cent received less than $1000; 65 per cent less than $1500; and 87 per cent less than $2500. Above the $2500 level, there were about 10 per cent with incomes up to $5000, about 2 per cent receiving between $5000 and $10,000, and only 1 per cent with incomes of $10,000 or more."[29]

What action are we taking to meet the per capita requirements in food, shelter, clothing, health, service and education of all the people of the nation? We know, for instance, that the

yearly requirements of milk for each person for a proper health standard is 300 quarts, whereas 167 are being consumed; we know that 166 pounds per year of green and yellow vegetables are needed to ensure a balanced diet whereas only 73 pounds are being consumed on an average basis.[30] We also know that the lowest 33 percent of consumers with incomes under $780 in 1935-36 accounted for only 18 per cent of the total food expenditures.[31] Adequate clothing is needed by large sections of the population. Access to health service by every individual is urgently required; the loss of working hours through illness constitutes a tremendous national waste for it has been discovered that the average number of days of illness for persons on relief is 17.4 days a year as compared with 6.5 days of illness for persons with incomes over $5,000.[32] The need for equalization of educational opportunity is also demanding immediate attention. "In urban areas in 1931-32 one child in four attended high schools, while in rural areas only one in seven of the school population was in high school. . . . The eighteen states maintaining separate Negro schools reported in the last census that white children on the average were receiving 10.6 grades of schooling while Negro children on the average were receiving 7.1 grades of schooling . . . Expenditure per Negro child is often a minor fraction of that per white child in the South, despite the fact that expenditures for the latter are less than half the national average."[33] A survey such as this indicates very clearly the scope of the task which lies before us.

Racial hatred, particularly in the form of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro prejudice, is an especially critical problem in our national life. We must be constantly on the alert for the appearance of organized efforts to inflame white man against Negro, native born against foreign born, Gentile against Jew, for this is the instrument by which Fascist-minded groups have sought and will continue to seek to confuse and defeat a democratic challenge to their power. Divide and rule has been their prevailing tactic.

SUPPORT OF ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES

It is of the greatest importance that we should consciously begin now to put our full weight behind the democratic forces in our own country and in every other country—behind the Trade Union or-

ganization and the demand for racial equality in the United States, behind the people's movement in China such as the democratic elements within the Kuomintang, the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and the New Fourth Route and Eighth Route Armies, backing our words with money and military supplies so as to encourage the various democratic groups, behind the Russian resistance to Fascism, behind the restoration of the Loyalist forces in Spain, behind the constructive Free French elements in a revitalized France, behind the anti-Fascist forces in South America, behind the movement for India's national freedom, behind the Trade Union Movement and the religious movements (Catholic and Protestant) for social reform in Great Britain.

The far-reaching effects of the stand we take can be comprehended in the light of an American occupation of Europe, for if American troops garrison Europe in order to restore and maintain order, some choice regarding the local authority to be dealt with will have to be made. Europe will be a chaos of conflicting groups, some constructive, some destructive, some purely opportunistic. It is of strategic importance that we decide which of these groups we intend to recognize, and that we make our choice on the basis of our belief in the Christian dignity of man and his inherent democratic rights.

IN THE PRESENT THE FUTURE IS BEING MADE

We are laying the foundation at this very time for the postwar world which is to be. The war and the world that follows it are of one fabric and what we accomplish now, both in relation to our own country and the various other countries, will determine what we are able to accomplish after hostilities cease. Since the greatest hope of international cooperation after the war lies in the developing understanding and mutual regard which is established between the United Nations, an important step in the direction of laying the basis for this relation would be the establishment of a Supreme War Council including representatives from all four countries and having as its purpose the outlining of united strategy and concerted action. In the last war this was finally achieved eight months before the signing of the armistice and it marked

the turning-point of the war. Such cooperative action is vitally needed at this time as well.

The formation of an International Relief Commission handling the relief measures for China and Europe and drawing up plans for the extension of its work at the cessation of hostilities, the opening of an Inter-American University as the first step towards the establishment of a world educational center, the setting up of an International Public Works Commission to initiate plans for a system of public works in North and South America are also examples of the way in which closer cooperation and coordination of effort could begin at the present time. In this way, the basis could be laid for unified action and increasing understanding for the winning of the peace as well as the winning of the war.

Furthermore, we should weigh very carefully the various implications for future policy which surround the possibility of a negotiated peace. If our aim is merely to obtain the cessation of hostilities at the earliest possible moment without understanding clearly the nature of what is at stake in the whole struggle, we may unwittingly plunge the generations which follow into a chaos of slavery, rebellion, and war. The future peace of the world depends on the type of men who make the decisions. If our negotiations are with men who have shown by their history that they do not seek the good of all the people, then our efforts to achieve peace will be doomed to failure from the beginning. We must insist that the United Nations negotiate only with representatives of groups which have a democratic purpose. The face of Europe has been greatly changed. A multitude of groups of distressed people with conflicting aims will spring to meet us. It is for us to make a deliberate choice which of these leaders we shall recognize as valid representatives of these peoples.

In this war we have the opportunity and the responsibility to break the irresponsible power of destructive Fascist forces which are bringing only catastrophe and ruin for millions of people in their train. We must carry on the struggle, with the full mobilization of our material resources and inventive powers, until we have the opportunity to enforce a decision which will have as its

avowed purpose the common good. This is our trust. We cannot betray it. We must do our utmost, pacifist and non-pacifist, each in our own way, to bring order out of chaos and a higher level of individual and social living for all people, whatever their race or country.

Finally, we must ask ourselves to what extent we are in earnest in our search for a plan of action which will have as its purpose the realization of a new and better social order. We must desire this strongly enough to be willing, not only to do without our present little luxuries and pleasures and even necessities for the sake of all that is at stake in the present, but we must also be ready and eager to do precisely the same for the sake of creating the peace which follows — to be prepared, for instance, to limit the amount of goods which we may buy on the home market, with the consequent inconvenience and hardship, in order that more exports may be sent to other countries and the standard of living of all people of the world be advanced. It is only as we are willing to "go without" in the present that a peacetime society of sufficiently dynamic proportions can be made possible.

OUR OWN COMMITMENT TO THE REALIZATION OF THE NEW SOCIETY

We are the people who are living at the most crucial point of the transition period from the social ordering of life within the framework of the closed universe of the Middle Ages to the social ordering of life within the framework of the open universe of the future. It is our privilege and our responsibility—because we are citizens of a wealthy and powerful country—to turn the key which will lock or unlock these possibilities for the future and enable those who follow us to be spared the travesty of continued strife and tragedy. We have the forces for good on our side if we will but cooperate. "The primordial slime is in man, but the stars, too, are in him. And he can be man only in so far as he knows that he is more than man."[34]

The new community remains to be realized in the coming years. We who are perplexed and uncertain in the midst of the present confusion and tragedy will find the answer to the questions we are asking in proportion as we face courageously the

fact of social upheaval and transformation, as we recognize the birth pangs which the new community is suffering, as we glimpse a task suited to our various abilities demanding completion, as we sense the force of the dynamic motivating power which is impelling us on. Only as we do this will we be enabled to realize our own potentialities and to make our contribution, whatever it may be, to the attainment of the greater community.

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John C. Bennett, *Christianity—and Our World,* Hazen Series, Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y., 1936.

In this book, Dr. Bennett, who is a professor of theology at the Pacific School of Religion, has given a stimulating and inclusive statement of the relation of Christianity to the modern world. The meaning implicit in the Christian faith as against a secular interpretation of life, the moral principles which are rooted in the structure of life, the threat to human values in capitalism and in the new tyranny of the Fascist dictatorship, the contribution to the realization of a new world which is inherent in the Christian religion are dealt with in such a way as to provide an excellent background for an understanding of the conflicts raging today.

Edward Hallett Carr, *The Conditions of Peace,* Macmillan, New York, 1942.

This book, by an English economist, describes the war today as an episode in a revolution which is sweeping away the half-rotted structure of an old social and political order and is laying the foundations for the new order. The present crisis appears at four points—democracy, self-determination, economics and ethics. The second part of the book deals with domestic reconstruction in Great Britain, the place of Great Britain in the post-war world, and the reconstruction of Europe on the basis of the needs of the people which must be met.

G. D. H. Cole, *Europe, Russia and the Future,* Macmillan, New York, 1942.

The author, also an English economist, develops in this book the idea that the existence of small nation-states is obsolete for the small state in these days is always dominated by its powerful neighbor. Supra-nationalism which includes the reorganization of Europe into three regional areas is coming by the very necessity of modern economics. Economic centralization is one of the plans which Hitler has already been putting into operation. The great tragedy will be if it comes for the good of the selected few rather than for the good of all the people.

Lewis Lorwin, *Economic Consequences of the Second World War,* Random House, New York, 1941.

In this book, Lewis Lorwin who is on the National Resources Planning Board in this country, has made an inclusive survey of the effects of a Nazi victory, as compared with a democratic victory, on world affairs. He has outlined the various major plans which have been advanced for the reorganization of the post-war world including the return to laissez-faire economics, a European Federation, Federal Union, a reconstructed League of Nations, the British Labor Party aims, etc. He develops in the last section of his book what he terms a World New Deal which is based on setting up international commissions closely related to the needs of the people of the world and immediately responsive.

John Macmurray, *The Clue to History,* Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939.

John Macmurray is a prominent Christian philosopher at University College, London, England. This book offers a stimulating analysis of the distinctive quality of the Hebrew consciousness which unifies practice and reflection; these elements became incarnate in the life of Jesus. The author then discusses the two phases of this dualism which have been variously expressed in the three phases of the Christian era—the Roman Empire, medieval Christendom, and the modern world.

Henri See, *Modern Capitalism, Its Origin and Evolution,* Adelphi Company, New York, 1928.

This is a short, factual treatment, by a French scholar, of the history of capitalism from its first manifestations in the Ancient World to the three forms in which it appears today—commercial capitalism, financial capitalism and industrial capitalism. His thesis is that the evolution of capitalism "has not been the result of artificial effort but the result of a variety of causes which have contributed to erect the capitalistic system."

Edgar Snow, *The Battle for Asia,* Random House, New York, 1941.

This is an interesting account, by an outstanding journalist who lived in China for several years, of the history of various social groups in China since the Revolution in 1911. The relations between the Kuomintang and the Communists, the history of the New Fourth Route and Eighth Route Armies in the Sino-Japanese war, the growth of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are included in the survey.

William Temple, *The Hope of the World,* Macmillan, New York, 1941.

This is a series of addresses and sermons by the present Archbishop of Canterbury. The book includes, in brief form, many of the insights into religion, philosophy, economics and international order which have come from his pen. The chapter headings, What is Wrong with the Old World, God and Freedom, International Justice, Principles of Reconstruction are indicative of the contents of the book.

Paul Tillich, *The Kingdom of God and History* (from The Church, Community and State Series of the Oxford Conference, 1937, Vol. III).

Dr. Tillich is the professor of philosophy of religion at Union Theological Seminary, New York City. This should be a "must" essay for those who are seeking, in these days of confusion and destruction, to understand the meaning of the Kingdom of God as Jesus used the phrase, and the relation of the Kingdom of God to history. Dr. Tillich says that the Kingdom of God is a symbolic expression of the ultimate meaning of existence, that it is "a dynamic power acting in history, materializing itself in history although never becoming identical with history".

Gregory Vlastos, *Christian Faith and Democracy,* Hazen Series, Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, 1938.

Gregory Vlastos is a professor of philosophy of religion in Canada who is now in the Canadian Royal Air Force. This little book written just before the outbreak of war, deals with the nature of mature religion and the dignity of man

which is inherent in mature religion, the nature of true faith and the repudiation and perversions of the true faith in the modern world, and finally the necessity for our clearing away "the obstacles so that the creative forces can break through" that God working in history may save His people.

SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB, *The Truth about Soviet Russia,* Longmans, New York, 1942.

This is a brief and provocative little book treating of various aspects of the Soviet life and economy by the English scholars, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and it includes a delightful introduction about the Webbs by George Bernard Shaw. Racial equality, the One-Party system as compared with the Two-Party system and the Many-Party system. Multiform democracy, "Puritan" ethics, the treason trials, and the Comintern are all treated with clarity and conciseness. The necessity of cooperating with Russia on terms of equality is stressed as a first essential in the formation of a basis of lasting peace.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

THE GREAT TRANSITION

1. What is the meaning of "The Great Transition"? How does this transition relate to the forces operating in the modern world?
2. What effects can you see as a result of the influence of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages? (a) Regarding human values? (b) Regarding the organization of economic society?
3. When did the "new life" first make its appearance during the Middle Ages and in what forms did it continue to express itself?
4. How did the release of new social energy express itself in the economic life of the period?
5. Into what new channels must we seek to re-direct this energy in order to prepare the way for a new social order?

THE PRESENT PERIOD

1. What are the social advances which the expansion of business enterprise has made possible?
2. In the attainment of these advances what have been the social costs?
3. Which factors impress you as most significant in the growth and development of the capitalist system?
4. What are the major social upheavals which have occurred since the English Revolution of 1688?
5. Discuss the present history of China, Russia, France, Great Britain and the United States in light of the various stages through which capitalism has passed and is passing.

CONSTRUCTIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE CREATIVITY

1. What is the meaning of the words "good" and "evil" for our day?
2. What do you consider to be the three dominant world forces which represent the operation of Destructive Creativity—the forces which have vitality but destructive effects?
3. Discuss the various manifestations of Constructive Creativity in the world of today.
4. What relation do you think the title of this series "Under God A New Birth Of Freedom In This World" has to the operation of Constructive Creativity?

1. Which would you say at the present time was more important for laying the basis of a permanent peace—the outlining of a world constitution or the formulation of an undergirding social and economic policy? What are the reasons for your choice?
2. What should be our criterion in the formulation of a world economic policy?
3. What part do you see the United States playing in bringing about a peaceful world?
4. What relation has the operation of democracy in national affairs to the realization of democracy in international affairs?
5. What is your reaction to the statement "The future is held in the present"? What do you consider your own responsibility to be in the present conflict?

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